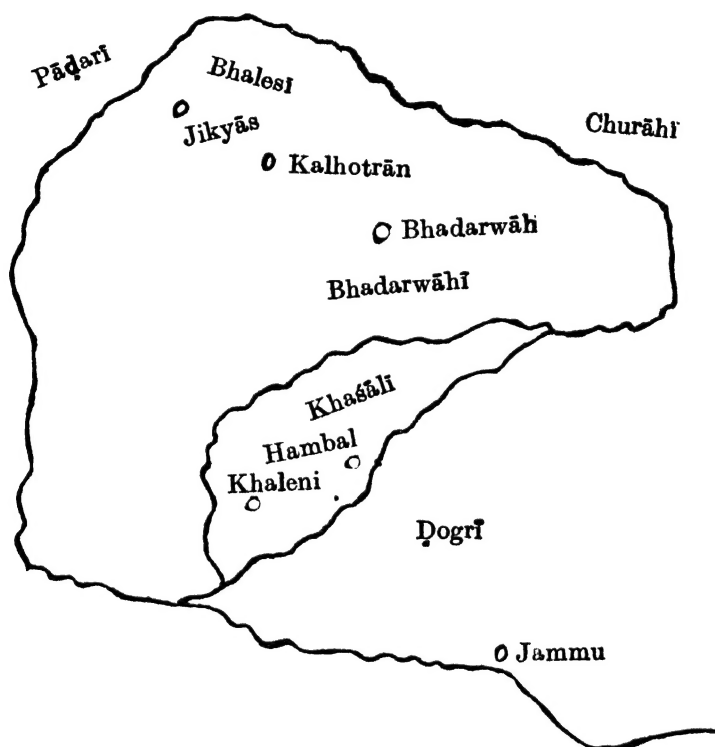## Indian dialects in phonetic transcription.

By SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

II. BHADARWĀHĪ, BHALESĪ AND KHAŚĀLĪ.

Bhadarwāhī, Bhalesī and Khaśālī, spoken in the territories of Jammu and Kashmir, are neighbouring dialects. The following rough map will illustrate their relative position :—

Pāḍarī
Bhalesī
○ Jikyās
Churāhī
○ Kalhotrān
○ Bhadarwāh
Bhadarwāhī
Khaśālī
Hambal ○
Khaleni ○
Ḍogrī
○ Jammu

STORY OF THE NORTH WIND AND THE SUN.

(1) *Bhadarwāhī.*

        ʊt'trẹinẹro (or 'ʊttrẹro) bat te dɪ'haˑro
        northern   wind and sun

bat te dɪ'haˑro ɪs 'gʌllipʊṛ 'lʌṛne 'lʌgɔre thie ki ʌsən duiən mʌz
wind and sun   this thing-on disputing   were that of-us two   among

kʌuṇ zore-balo âe 'ẹtremʌz ʊ'ṇaˑlu kɔˑṭ 'lẹitã   ʌkk bət$\hat{\phi}$ru ʊ'lhorã
who powerful is meanwhile warm coat wearing a   traveller thither

aʊ. ẹn 'duiẹi ɛ   gʌll 'rʌkhi   ki zɛ 'ʌgri bətɸ̂ṛẹru koṭ
came by-them this thing was-fixed that who first traveller's coat

khôlẹlo,   tɛ 'zore'balo bholo. tẹspur̯ bat 'zore-sẹī   'bhoṇe 'lʌgo,
will-remove   he powerful will-be this-on wind force-with to-blow began

tã   tɛ   bət$\hat{\phi}$r̯u 'ʌppṇu kɔ·t̯ 'zore-sẹī   ʌppṇi ɟani-sẹ̄ī   'bhɛr̯ne
then   that   traveller his   coat force-with his   body-with to-wrap

'lʌgo. bat   'phɪri 'hɛt̯i ɟʌu.   'phɪri dɪ'har̯o 'tɛzi-sẹī   'nɪsso,   'phɪri
began wind then drew-back then sun   force-with came-out   then

'tẹni   bət$\hat{\phi}$r̯e 'ʌppṇu kɔ·t̯ 'lyʃi   khôli 'ɕhʌd̯d̯u. ə'lhere-lẹi   'ba·te
by-that traveller his   coat quickly was cast-off   this-owing-to   wind

'mʌnṇu pẹ̄ū   ki   ʌsən duiən-mʌz dɪ'har̯o ɟade 'zore-balo âe.
to-admit had-to that us   two among sun   more powerful is

(2) *Bhalesī.*

<div align="center">

'ʊttrẹu   bat   te   dɪ'har̯o
northern wind and sun
</div>

'ʊttrẹu bat tə   dɪ'har̯o 'ɪsɪ 'gʌlle-pur̯ lʌrte   thie, ki   ʌsən
northern wind and sun   this thing-on quarrelling were that us

duiənmʌz 'kʌṇu 'zore-balo âe. 'etrumʌz   nîggu kɔ·t̯ lẹi   ẹk
two-among who powerful is meanwhile warm coat wearing a

mʊ'ʃa·ɸɪr ʊ'dho·ria   aʊ. 'mɛ̃ duiən mʌz   i   gʌll khər̯ei   ki
traveller from-thither came them two-between this thing-was-fixed that

'zɛkhʊ   ʌgri mʊ'ʃa·ɸeru kɔ·t̯ ʊ'kholẹlʊ   'te·he   zore-balu 'bholʊ.
whoever first traveller's   coat will-remove he-alone powerful   will be

tẹs-pur̯ bat   zore-sẹī   'bhoṇe lʌgo, pʌr 'ziū—ziū bat zore-sẹī
this-on wind force-with to blow began but as—as   wind force-with

'bhoṇe lʌgo, 'tãtã tɛ   mʊ'ʃa·ɸɪr 'ʌppuṇu kɔ·t̯ zore-sẹī   'ʌppṇi
blow-to began so-so that traveller his   coat force-with his

ɟani-pur̯ 'ɕẹkkṇe lʌgo 'phɪri bat 'mʊkkigẹu. 'phɪri dɪ'har̯o tɛzi-sẹi
body-on press-to began then wind ūnished was then sun   force-with

nɪsso,   'phɪri 'tẹni   mʊ'ʃaphre 'ʌpṇu̯ kɔ:t̯ ʊ'kholi ɕhʌr̯u. ɪr̯i'e-lẹi
came-out then by-that traveller his   coat put-off was   this-owing-to

'bate   'mʌnṇu pẹ̄ū ki   ʌsən du hi·ɟne mʌz   dɪ'har̯o: ɟade
by-the-wind to-admit was that of-us both   between sun-only more

zore-balo âe.
powerful is

(3) *Khaśūlī.*

<div align="center">

'ʊttrara bat   te   dɪ'har̯a
north-of wind and sun
</div>

bat tə   dɪ'har̯a êa 'gʌlla-tɪr 'lʌrne   lʌgure   thie ki   ã duiõ
wind and sun   this thing-on to-dispute beginning were that us both

mã   kʌnzẹra 'zora wala əse. 'ẹtremã   ʊ'ṇa·la kot̯ 'lāida   ẹkk
between who powerful is meanwhile warm coat wearing a

'bʌttmergu ʊtôṇã   a.   ɛnã duiõ-mã   ī   ʃʌrt   thêɪri
traveller on-that-side came these-two-between this condition was-fixed

ki ze 'ʌgri bʌtt'mergʊara kot̯ khôlla,   tə   tɛ 'zorawala 'bhola
that who first traveller's   coat will-remove then he powerful will-be

tê-tɪr bɑt zorɑ-sẹ̃ cʌlne lʌgɑ ; pʌr zã-zã bɑt zorɑ-sẹi 'cʌlne
this-on wind · force-with to-blow began but as-as wind force-with blow-to
lʌgɑ, tãtã tɛ bʌtt'mergu ʌpṇa koṭ 'ʌpṇi jɪndɑ-sẹi bhɛ̱rne lʌgɑ.
began, so-so that traveller his coat his body-with to-press began
bɑt phɪri 'hʌṭi geɑ. 'phɪri dɪ'hɑ·ṛɑ 'tezɑ-sẹi nɪssɑ ; 'phɪri 'tẹni
wind then left-off   then sun   force-with rose   then by-that
bʌtt'mergũ ʌpṇa koṭ tʌoɪa khôlɪ-sʌ̱rɑ. 'ẹṭɪpʌttɑ 'bɑta 'mʌnṇu
traveller his coat soon was put-off this—on by-wind to-admit
pẹ̃ũ ki ã duiỡ mã dɪ'hɑ·ṛɑ 'zₒrɑwɑlɑ əse.
had that us both between sun powerful, ɪs

Notes

(1) *Phonetics.*

(a) Bhadarwālī [ʌ], as in 'lʌrne 'disputing', gʌll 'thing' is much more back than the standard Hindustani [ʌ]. It resembles Southern English [ʌ].

(b) Bhalesi [ɪ] at the end of words, as in jɑnɪ-, is a remarkable feature of the dialect, being very lax and resembling the final vowel of the English ward 'baby'.

(c) Bhal. [ᵁ] at the end of words is another striking feature of this dialect. This [ᵁ] is very delicate, sometimes extremely difficult to hear, as in the words bholᵁ 'will be' 'zɛ khᵁ 'whoever'. This feature of the dialect resembles the well-known phenomenon of delicate final vowels in Kashmīrī.

(d) Bhɑd. [ɸ], as in bǝtɸ̂ru 'traveller' is more lax than the corresponding French sound.

(e) Bhɑd. [y] as in 'lyʃi 'quickly' is more lax than the corresponding French sound.

(f) Bhɑl. [ɸ], as in mʊ'ʃɑ·ɸɪr, verges more on the bi-labial fricative, but it has a little occlusion.

(2) *Phonology (in the older, philological sense.)*

(a) Khaś [ʊ] in unstressed syllables appears to be a later stage, which the vowel [o] has undergone, a preceding stage appearing in Bhɑd., wherein the corresponding vowel is [ɔ], being more back. Cf. the following words in the text :—

	Khaś.		Bhad.
	'lʌgʊre	' (were) beginning '	lʌgɔre
Also cf.	'zʌrmʊrɑ	' had born '	'zʌrmɔro
	'zitʊrɑ	' had won '	'zitɔro

(b) The initial [ʊ] in Bhal. ʊ'kholẹlʊ 'will remove' goes back to PIA ava- down, as in Hindi utarnā 'to descend'.

(c) The mutation of vowels, as appearing in Bhad. 'heṭijʌu 'drew back'—the [ʌ] of 'hʌṭnu 'to draw back' being changed tɔ ɛ in 'heṭi, under

the influence of the final [i]—is a very prominent feature of both Bhad. and Bhal. cf. in the texts above :—

Khaś.	Bhad.	Bhal.	
'laīda	lẹitã	lẹi	' having put on '.

Here the [a] of the verb ['la·ṇu] ' to put on ' remains unchanged in Khaś. 'lãida, but is changed to [ẹ] in Bhad. and Bhal. Also cf. the following :—

Khaś.	Bhad.	
'bhoitã	'bhɸitã	' having become '.
'dhoitã	'dhɸitã	' having washed '.
'puzzitã	'pyztã	' having reached '.

Nevertheless, even in Khaś. there are some tendencies for this vocalic mutation cf.

Khaś　　māli ' mother ' pl. mēɪli
'mʌɕhli ' fish ' pl. 'mẹɕhli

(d) Khaśālī syncopation by elision of the vowel between two l's may be noticed in the following Khaś. as against the Bhad. words in the texts :—

	Khaś.	Bhad.	
	khôlla	khôlẹlo	' will remove '.
cf.	'cʌlla	'ɕʌlẹlo	' went '.

Cf. Konkāṇi (Marāṭhi) gello ' went ' but Ratnagiri (Marāṭhi) gēlēlō ' went '. L.S.I. Vol. VII, p. 408.

(e) The elision of suffical [r] is characteristic of Bhalesi, as appearing in Bhal. 'uttrẹu ' northern ' as against Bhad. 'uttrẹro cf.

Bhal.	Bhad.	Khaś.	
ki'o	ki'c·re	gɪ'u·re	' they have or had been done '.
'ghorẹu	'ghorẹro	'ghorera	' of the horse '.

(f) In Khaś. the intervocalic [s] of pronouns is changed into the high-falling tone. Cf.

Bhad.	Bhal.	Khaś.	
ɪs	'ɪsɪ	êa	' this ' (oblique).
ʌs	ʌs	â	' we '.

Cf. my ' Dialects of the Khaśālī group ' (1939), p. 4.

(g) Bhad. and Bhal. have intervocalic [b] as against [w] of Khaś. in

Khaś.	Bhad.	Bhal.	
'zorewala	'zorebalo	'zorebalo	' powerful '.

(h) Khaś. has [s] for ɕh of Bhad. and Bhal. in :—

Bhad.	Bhal.	Khaś.	
'ɕhʌḍḍu	'ɕhʌṛu	'sʌɽa	' gave up ', auxiliary in the sense of ' off '.

(i) Corresponding to Bhad. u'lhorã ' from that side ', Bhal. has u'dho·ria, cf. Hindustani udharko ' to that side '. If [lh] in the Bhad.

word phonologically corresponds to [dh] in the Bhal. correspondent, it is an interesting change, but it awaits confirmation by more examples.

(3) *Grammar.*

(a) The gender of bɑt 'wind' in all the three dialects is masculine, exactly corresponding to the gender of Sanskrit vātaḥ. On the contrary. Panjābī [va] and Ḍogrī [ba] 'wind' are feminine.

The gender of koʻt in Bhad. and Bhal. is neuter, as the adjectives u'naʻlu and nɨggu 'warm' show, but in Khaś., indicated by the adjective u'naʻla, it is masculine. In all the three dialects we have naturally a double neuter gender in 'mʌnṇu pęu̐ 'had to admit', corresponding to Hindi mānna paṛā, because the (impersonal) infinitive in these dialects is formed with the neuter termination [u].

(b) Though Khaś. is essentially a Pahārī dialect, as are Bhad. and Bhal., yet Khaś. nouns corresponding to PIA nouns in -aka end in [-ɑ], while Bhad. and Bhal. nouns of this type end in [-o], cf. Khaś. dɪ'haʻṛɑ 'the sun', but Bhad., Bhal. dɪ'haʻro. As a cursory glance through the above map will show, Khaś. is geographically nearer to Ḍogrī than are Bhad. and Bhal., and so the influence of Ḍogrī on the Khaśālī nouns of this type may be suspected.

(c) The first [ɑ] of Khaś. 'uttrarɑ 'of the north' is characteristic of the dialect, as distinct from [ę] of Bhad. 'uttręro 'of the north'. For as has been pointed out in my treatise 'Dialects of the Khaśālī group' (p. 9), in Khaś. the oblique of all non-feminine nouns ending in consonants has the ending -ɑ before the final suffix -rɑ. This [-ɑ] also occurs in Khaś. 'gʌllɑ-tɪr 'on this thing', for some feminine words of this type like gʌll, zɨb, also form their oblique with the ending [-ɑ]. Also cf. Khaś. 'zorɑ-sęi 'with force' but Bhad. Bhal. 'zore-sęī.

(d) The locative ending in both Bhal. and Bhad. is -puṛ, as in Bhad. 'gʌlli-puṛ, Bhal. 'gʌlle-puṛ 'on (this) thing', possibly corresponding to PIA pṛṣṭhɑ-, cf. Kashmīrī pjaṭh 'on', but the Khaś. ending -tir as in 'gʌllɑtɪr 'on (this) thing' possibly goes back to PIA talɑ-.

(4) *Vocabulary.*

The following words in the above texts may be of special interest :—

Bhad. 'uttręinęro 'northern' reminds one of PIA uttarāyaṇa-, but the occurrence of [n] instead of [ṇ] stands in the way of accepting any such correspondence.

For Bhad. bətǫ̂ṛu 'a traveller', cf. Panj. vãḍī 'a traveller', so that in the Bhad. word we have possibly a conglomerate of the word bʌtt 'a path' +vah+ the suffix [-ḍ].

In Khaś. 'bʌttmergu 'traveller' lit. 'path-seeker', the second element seems to be a semi-tatsama word, corresponding to PIA √mārg- 'to seek'. In Bhal. 'zɛkhu 'whoever', fem. zeʻkhɪ, we have the indefinitive suffix khu,

khⁱ,   , cf. Hindi jokoi 'whoever', which however, has no phonological correspondence with it.

In Bhal. 'mʋkkigᴇu 'withdrew' lit. 'was finished', we have an unusual idiomatic use of 'mʋknu 'to be finished'.

In Khaś. ɟɪnd 'body', Bhal. Bhad. ɟɑn, we have the words for the human body. These words are sometimes used, secondarily in this sense in Panj. as well, though here 'pɪ̣nḍa is the more current word for the 'body', the former words being used more in the sense of 'life' or 'physical condition'.

The sense of Bhad. ʋ'nɑ·lu 'warm' used for cloth would sound curious to a Lahnda speaker, to whom hʋ'nɑ·la, the corresponding form, means only the Summer Season.